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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the media attitudes and behaviors of black adults toward four types of print media: majority, black entertainment, black establishment, and black nonestablishment. The relationships of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, subjective orientations, and media attitudes and behaviors are empirically examined. Consistent with past research, but with more precise measurement and within a multivariate specification, it was found that those of a higher socioeconomic status tended to read more magazines and print media in general, save black entertainment magazines. Overall, the relationships between all of the media variables pointed to the utility of making certain distinctions within the black press, and to the adequacy of simultaneously incorporating subjective orientations and demographic and socioeconomic characteristics as predictor variables. (Author/AM)

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BLACKS' RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRINT MEDIA

Richard L. Allen and William T. Bielby

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Blacks' Relationship with the Print Media

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the media attitudes and behaviors of black adults toward four types of print media--majority, black entertainment, black establishment, and black nonestablishment. Our conceptualization allowed us to empirically examine the relationships of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, subjective orientations, and media exposure to several types of print media attitudes and behaviors. Within a multivariate framework we were able to replicate and greatly expand upon previous findings about the relationship of black Americans to the print media.

Blacks' Relationship with the Print Media

Past studies in mass communication research have emphasized the effects of mass media messages on their audience. The media were initially viewed as molders of consent; the audiences were seen as atomized and defenseless targets of deliberate or inadvertent propaganda (Baker and Ball, 1969). This emphasis has been apparent in the public policy questions explored (McLeod and O'Keefe, 1972). Causes of changes in the attitude or behavior of the audience were sought by an examination of the characteristics of message content and source. Within this framework, communication and the mass media are typically treated as the independent variables or as transmitters of influence. One researcher (Bauer, 1964) has suggested that the question of what effects mass media produces (a one-way model) be replaced by an approach that poses the question of what people do with mass communication.

The answer to the latter question suggests that communication be studied as a dependent variable. Thus, this approach can supplement past research (which has provided useful information) by providing another view, reflecting different aspects of a single entity; namely, communication and its concomitants. That is, a more balanced perspective would give additional weight to constraints or impediments to communication and to conditions that produce them (McLeod and O'Keefe, 1972; McLeod and Chaffee, 1972).

This balanced view is warranted no where more than in communication research on blacks. Past studies, emphasizing the effects of the media upon blacks, have indicated that the media has been responsible for heightening social discord in the black community, lowering blacks' self-esteem,

and teaching blacks to be unrelenting in the quest for equal rights (Kerner, 1968; Allen, 1968; Clark, 1972; Hayakawa, 1968). Seldom have studies investigated the more active role of blacks in relationship to the media; that is, the degree to which the socioeconomic and background characteristics of blacks affect their uses of and attitudes toward the media. Furthermore, the little research that has been done in this area has focused disproportionately on black-white comparisons while ignoring social processes that account for differences among blacks in their relationship to the media. Finally, this research has been criticized for methodological inadequacies. The present study is aimed at strengthening this area of study while addressing the aforementioned shortcomings.

1. MAJORITY PRINT MEDIA

Majority print media is defined as newspapers or magazines owned by whites. Unlike the electronic medium of television, which is almost an exclusively majority medium, differences in the orientations of print media toward majority and minority communities can provide important insights into the relationship of blacks toward this media.

Dervin and Greenberg (1972) reported that newspapers are read less often by the low-income population in comparison with the general population. Sargent and Stempel (1968) found that low-income residents read newspapers for considerably less time than the general population. Bogart (1972) found that blacks read newspapers less often than whites, although he did not control for any socioeconomic differences in the composition of the two populations.

Sharon (1973-74) conducted one of the more thorough studies on racial differences in readership. Using a nationwide sample, she examined the reading habits for newspapers, magazines, books, and other printed matter of low-income segments of the general population, and of blacks in particular. She found that there were statistically significant differences between white and black readers in the several print categories. The percentage differences were somewhat smaller in the two low-income groups than in the two racial groups of the total sample. Moreover, she reported that a statistically significant lower proportion of low-income blacks read the main news, women's and society pages, editorials, and financial and business sections of newspapers. Given that a large sample was used and only levels of statistical significance were reported, interpretation of these results is hampered.

2. BLACK PRINT MEDIA

Because of the little attention paid to the Black Press by whites (Kerner, 1968; Frazier, 1965), any investigation into the Black Press implies an almost exclusive treatment of blacks; that is, such a state of affairs make untenable a comparative analysis along racial lines.

The Black Press came into existence as an important instrument in the black protest armamentarium, and it developed in influence because the majority press overlooked what was considered news in the black community (Myrdal, 1972; Frazier, 1965; Palmer, 1970). Historically, it has been characterized as the greatest single power among blacks. It has been credited with keeping both leaders and masses under "racial discipline" (Myrdal, 1972).

On the other hand, it has been described, despite its declarations to the contrary, as the chief medium for the "black bourgeoisie" (Frazier, 1965), and the middle class (Myrdal; 1972, Berkman, 1963; Click, 1975). Hirsch (1968) presented the same picture when he compared the readers of one black magazine (Ebony) with the total U.S. black population along the dimensions of income, occupation, and education. While the Black Press has been observed to be oriented to the middle class, the possible components of the black middle class have not been systematically investigated. As Hirsch pointed out, Frazier's description of the black bourgeoisie has become the model of the black middle class. However, Frazier indicated that intraclass differences exist. In a subsequent introduction to Black Bourgeoisie, he pointed out

> an important aspect of the New Negro middle class that might have been included in this book and certainly could not be omitted from a more detailed study...I am referring to the most recent accessions to the Negro middle class who are prominent in the sit-ins and in the other protest movements against racial segregation. They do not have the same social background as the black bourgeoisie in my study [p. 12].

More recent analyses of the Black Press have indicated that, like its readership, it is in transition (Palmer, 1970; Ward, 1973). For example, black newspapers that were prominent after World War II have waned. Some black newspapers, however, have become quite prominent in the black community (e.g., Bilalian News--formerly Muhammad Speaks--and The Black Panther). All of these newspapers may be characterized as organizational, and some are profit-making. The one thing that has set them apart from the earlier established Black Press is their militancy (Palmer, 1970; Ward, 1973; Barger, 1973).

Until the early 1970s, Ebony had very little direct competition. The last five years have brought on a host of other black magazines.

This increase has been attributed to the rapid emergence of black identity. Most of these new black magazines have placed an emphasis on specialized reader service (Click, 1975). That is, they have devoted more space to the analyses of social issues involving or having an effect on blacks as a group; less space is generally allotted to primarily entertainment or amusement material.

Aside from a few content analyses of black print media (Berkman, 1963; Barger, 1973; Click, 1975; Geizer, 1971), there have been few empirical studies. Lyle (1967) researched blacks' newspaper reading behavior and their attitudes toward these newspapers. He found that these newspapers were considered more accurate and complete, but sensational and biased toward certain persons. Education was found to be a significant factor in detecting sensationalism; those with more college objected more to sensationalism than those with less college. Also, the perceived need for black newspapers was highest in the concentrated black community and lowest in the areas farther from the inner city. In several studies, Ebony was shown to be the most widely read magazine, and it was reported that lower-income blacks prefer reading about personalities, particularly in black magazines (Lyle, 1967; Allen, 1968).

Based on the aforementioned studies, the research problem addressed here may be stated thus: How do the social and economic positions and the subjective orientations of blacks relate to their attitudes and behaviors toward both the Majority Press and the Black Press?

3. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PRESENT STUDY

We constructed a model (1) to represent the process whereby trust of majority, black establishment, and black nonestablishment print media,

newspaper bias, and newspaper as a source of information about blacks are determined by the extent of exposure to the print media, general and race-related attitudes (subjective orientations), and demographic and socioeconomic characteristics; and (2) to substantiate empirically the relationships implied by our model.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Figure 1 presents a schematic representation of what we assume to be the conceptual relationships among the four categories of variables in our model. Proceeding from right to left in Figure 1, we assume media exposure to be predetermined with respect to trust variables, perception of newspaper bias, and newspaper as a source of information about the black community. These media variables entail some of the major communication groupings used as research concepts. While past attitudes about the media surely affect future exposure, our interest was in detecting current, and presumably more transient, perspectives on the media. That is, given that our sample is composed of adults, it is assumed that the frequency and extent of media exposure varies less than one's perspective of that media (the specific print media one goes to for information or entertainment may change, but the frequency of reading changes less).

Futhermore, when effects of other variables on our ultimate dependent variables are assessed statistically, it is desirable to control exposure to the print media so that effects of these variables may be examined without the confounding effects of variation in exposure. Accordingly, exposure is presented as an independent or predetermined variable in the prediction of the various trust, perceived bias, and source variables. Relatedly,

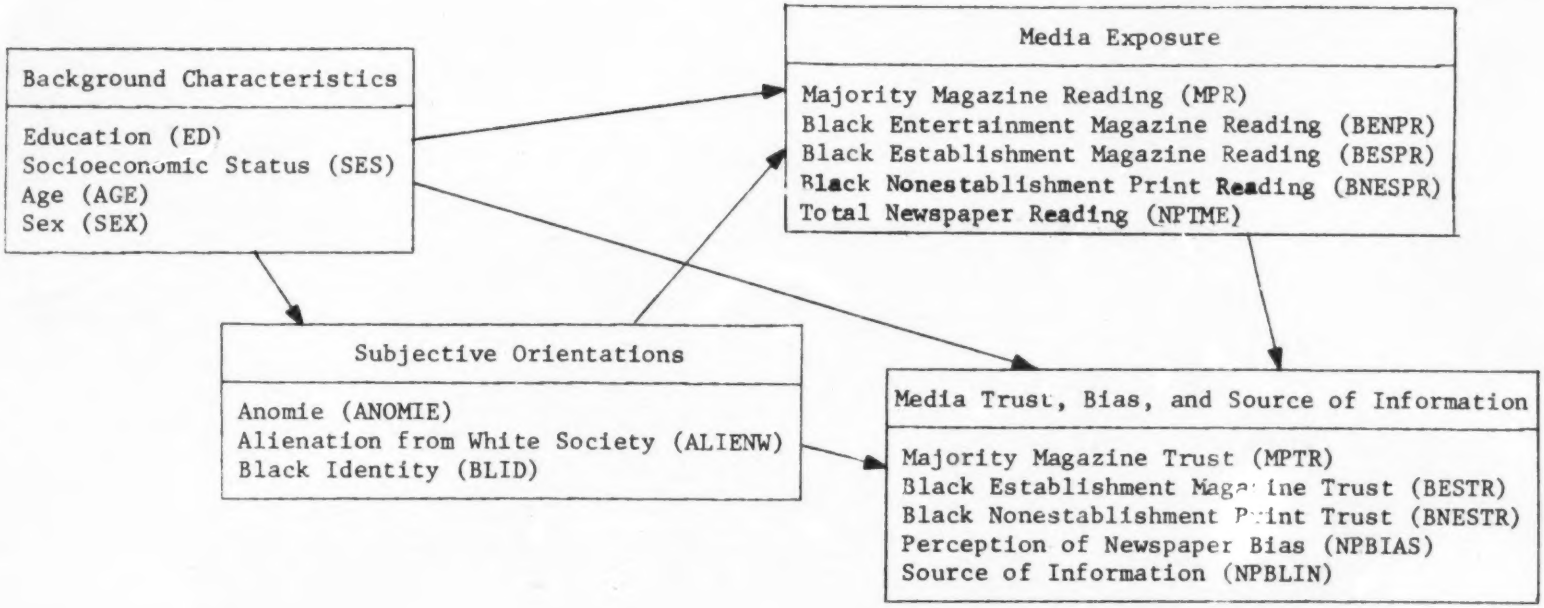

Figure 1. Schematic representation of conceptual relationships among black adults.

treating media exposure and attitudes as different domains has been suggested by past research (Clarke and Ruggels, 1970; Chaffee and McLeod, 1971).

Figure 1 indicates that we take demographic and socioeconomic characteristics as well as subjective orientations to be predetermined with respect to print media outcome variables. That is, media exposure and the other media variables are assumed to be influenced directly by socioeconomic and demographic characteristics and subjective orientations, and those factors indirectly influence attitudes and perceptions toward the media through their effect on exposure.

Among subjective orientations, race-related attitudes have been found to influence several spheres of life devoid of obvious racial content, such as total television viewing time, frequency of public affairs viewing, and opposition to the Vietnam War (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974; Allen and Bielby, 1977). Racial identity (or black identity) has been revealed as one of the most consistent predictors for a wide range of social attitudes held by blacks (Brink and Harris, 1969; Marx, 1969), and alienation from white society has been shown to be related to non-racial questions, such as approval of gambling and divorce, lack of confidence in government officials, among others. However, racial attitudes, as important as they are, have not been shown to determine or reflect black attitude in all significant areas of life.

The general attitude--anomie--has been shown to be a useful predictor of media behavior (Singer, 1973). More generally, past research has found that attitudes and values affect audience members in their selection of newspapers (McLeod et al., 1965-66; McLeod and O'Keefe, 1972).

Finally, we assume that subjective orientations are an outcome of demographic and socioeconomic background variables. Recent studies support this specification, particularly in reference to age and, to a lesser extent, education (Gurin and Epps, 1974; Schuman and Hatchett, 1974; Paige, 1970). In this study, the relationship between demographic and socioeconomic characteristics and subjective orientations is not of substantive importance in itself, rather it allows demographic and socioeconomic variables to affect print media variables indirectly through their influence on general and race-related attitudes.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN

The data used in this study were collected as part of a larger project examining a wide range of media variables within a sample of black adults from San Francisco. The data for this large project were collected over three points in time. Data for waves 1 and 3 were used in this study. The respondents received $5 for their participation in the first wave, and $10 for their participation in the third wave.

Sixteen contiguous census tracts in San Francisco were selected as the primary area for this survey. Each tract contained at least 20% black population according to 1970 census data. Within each census tract, specific blocks were eliminated if their population was less than 20% black. The resulting modified census tract area contained 58,537 people, of whom 34,821 (60%) were black. This represented 8.2% of the total population of San Francisco, but it included 36.2% of the black population of the entire city. Sample size was set at 600, giving an expected 360 black households (600 x .6). In each tract, the sample size was propor-

tional to the number of blacks in the total sample area. Each sample point was drawn from a reverse telephone directory by first selecting N random numbers to specify each of the N sample points in a tract. To ensure that bias due to unlisted phones and homes without phones were eliminated, listers contacted the next housing unit (home or apartment) immediately above the address drawn from the directory.

Of the 391 personal interviews attempted, 83% were conducted in the first wave. There were 48 (12%) refusals; nineteen (5%) were not interviewed because they had moved, were ill or had died.

On the third wave, 268 reinterviews were completed from the possible 299 (90%). Of the 25 who were not interviewed, 15 (5%) were ineligible because they had moved, were ill or deceased; and 10 (3%) refused. The 268 respondents reinterviewed on the third wave represented 69% of the original sample of 391.[1]

All items included in this study were forced-choice questions of various kinds. Items were sorted into indices and scales by content; the appropriateness of the groupings was checked by corrected item-total correlations.[2]

The indices, scales, and items were intended to tap the following dimensions.[3]

Background Characteristics

(1) Education (ED). Respondent indicated the number of years of schooling completed.

(2) Age (AGE). Respondent indicated age at last birthday.

(3) Sex (SEX). By observation, the sex of the respondent was noted (male dummy coded as 1).

(4) Socioeconomic Status (SES) was a weighted composite of occupational status, income, and perceived class standing (3 items).

Subjective Orientations

(1) Anomie (ANOMIE).[4] Respondent indicated whether he/she agreed or disagreed with statements concerning his/her discontent with society. High scores indicate greater anomie (5 items).

(2) Black Identity (BLID). Respondent indicated, on a 5-point scale, the degree of agreement with statements concerning the distinctness of blacks as a group. High scores reflect greater black identity (7 items).

(3) Alienation from White Society (ALIENW). Respondent indicated the extent to which he/she was discriminated against because of his/her race and whether things are changing in a more positive direction. High scores indicate greater alienation (6 items).

Exposure

(1) Majority Magazine Reading (MPR). Respondent indicated, from list of 16 periodicals, the ones regularly read. High scores reflect greater reading of majority periodicals.

(2) Black Entertainment Magazine Reading (BENPR).[5] Respondent indicated, from a list of five magazines, the ones regularly read. High scores reflect greater reading of black entertainment magazines.

(3) Black Establishment Magazine Reading (BESPR).[6] Respondent indicated whether he/she regularly read Ebony magazine (1 item).

(4) Black Nonestablishment Print Reading (BNESPR).[7] Respondent indicated from a list of five print media, the ones regularly read. High scores reflect greater reading of black nonestablishment print media.

(5) Total Newspaper Reading (NPTME). Respondent reported how many days per week he/she read newspapers and how many hours per day were spent reading newspapers. The two reports were multiplied to obtain hours per week spent reading newspapers.

Trust

(1) Majority Magazine Trust (MPTR). Respondent indicated the extent of trust in majority magazines regularly read. High scores reflect more trust in majority magazines. The index was averaged over the number of majority periodicals read.

(2) Black Establishment Magazine Trust (BESTR). Respondent indicated the extent of trust in the black establishment magazine regularly read. High scores reflect more trust in a magazine of this type.

(3) Black Nonestablishment Print Trust (BNESTR). Respondent indicated the extent of trust in black print media regularly read, weighted for the number chosen. High scores reflect more trust in this category of print media.

Bias

(1) Perception of Newspaper Bias (NPBIAS). Respondent indicated the extent to which he/she perceived newspapers to be biased or unbalanced againt blacks. High scores indicated a greater perception of newspaper bias (3 items).

(2) Source of Information (NPBLIN). Respondent indicated the extent to which he/she would go to the newspapers for information about blacks and the black community. High scores reflect a greater tendency to go to the newspaper for this information (1 item).

5. RESULTS

Assuming the relationships in Figure 1 to be linear and additive, they can be represented by a series of linear equations, where each variable is a linear combination of those variables that are predetermined with respect to it. Since the model is recursive--involving no reciprocal effects among groups of variables--the coefficients of the equations can be estimated by applying ordinary least squares regression to each equation (see Alwin and Hauser, 1975).

Thus, proceeding from left to right in Figure 1, we estimate regression coefficients as follows. Each of the three subjective orientation variables is regressed upon the four background variables. Each media exposure variable is first regressed on the background variables and then on both the background and subjective orientation variables. The former regressions assess the total effects of demographic and socioeconomic background on media exposure, i.e., direct influences plus those operating indirectly through general and racial attitudes. The latter regression yields direct influences on media exposure of both groups of variables. The hierarchical regression strategy is applied in a similar manner to each one of the trust variables, perception of newspaper bias, and the one source variable; it is regressed first upon the background variables to assess their total effects, then subjective orientation variables are entered, and finally exposure variables are included to assess direct influences of variables in each of the three groups (see Alwin and Hauser, 1975 for a detailed discussion of this strategy for estimating recursive structural equation models).

In order to retain a parsimonious representation of the process involved, an independent (predetermined) variable is dropped from a regression equation

for a dependent variable if the absolute magnitude of the standardized coefficient of the independent variable is neither larger than .10 nor greater than twice its estimated standard error. That is, we impose both substantive (greater than .10) and statistical (greater than twice the standard error) criteria for retaining an independent variable in the analysis of a given dependent variable; those that meet neither criteria are assumed to have trivial effect.

Insert Table 1 about here

The first three columns of Table 1 assess the effects of demographic and socioeconomic background on general and race-related attitudes among our sample of blacks. As noted above, these relationships are not of substantive interest and are discussed elsewhere (Allen and Bielby, 1977).

Demographic and socioeconomic background and subjective orientations account for very little variation in all but one of the print media exposure variables. Economically successful black (high status) are more likely to be exposed to majority print media. Age has a small net negative effect and alienation a small positive effect on exposure to black entertainment periodicals; that is, younger and more alienated blacks tend to be reading this type of magazine. About a third of the effect of age is mediated by alienation (the proportionate reduction in the age coefficient when alienation is introduced). This indicates that part of the tendency of younger blacks to read more black entertainment magazines is a result of being more alienated, and alienation in turn leads to more exposure to these periodicals. As we found for majority print media, economically successful (high status) blacks are somewhat more likely to be exposed to the black establishment magazine.

Table 1

Standardized Coefficients of a Model of Print Media Attitudes and Behaviors Among Black Adults [a]

		DEPENDENT VARIABLES [b]																					
		Subjective Orientations			Media Exposure								Media Trust, Bias, and Source of Information										
		ALIENW	BLID	ANOMIE	MPR	BENPR		BESPR	BNESPR		NPTME		MPTR	BESTR		BNESTR		NPBIAS			NPBLIN		
Background Characteristics	ED	--	.14*	-.13*	--	--	--	--	.25*	.24*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.14*	-.09	-.12
	SES	.10	--	--	.20*	--	--	.27*	.16*	.12	.29*	.28*	--	--	--	--	--	-.09	-.14*	-.09	--	--	--
	AGE	-.27	-.33*	--	--	-.14*	-.09	-.18*	-.18*	-.09	.21*	.25*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	SEX	--	--	-.13*	--	--	--	--	--	--	.11	.10	--	-.07	-.10	--	--	--	--	--	.13	.15*	.12
Subjective Orientations	ALIENW						.15*			.21*		--	-.12	--	--	--	--		.29*	.18*		--	--
	BLID									.09		.13	--	--	--	.06	-.11		--	--	--	-.17*	-.20*
	ANOMIE									-.18		--	.17*	--	--	-.11	-.07		--	--		--	--
Media Exposure	MPR													.14*	--				--				.12
	BENPR													--	.13				--				.16*
	BESPR													--	--				--				--
	BNESPR													--	.17				--				--
	NPTME													.18*	.20*				-.20*				.18*
	R^2	.10	.16	.04	.04	.02	.04	.12	.21	.29	.12	.13	.04	.00	.06	.02	.06	.01	.01	.13	.03	.06	.14

[a] N = 268

[b] For each dependent variable, the left-most column presents total effects; others present net effects as intervening variables are introduced into the model. No separate column of coefficients is present when an entire set of variables have no substantial total or net effects.

* Coefficient at least twice as large in absolute value as its estimated standard error.

In addition, age and sex have smaller independent effects, with older persons and males slightly less likely to be reading this magazine.

Blacks of higher socioeconomic status and younger blacks are more likely to be reading the black establishment magazine (accounting for 12% of the variance in exposure). No subjective orientation variables were related to exposure to the black establishment magazine.

Of all the exposure variables, we are most successful in explaining exposure to black nonestablishment print media. The demographic and background variables alone account for over 20% of the variation, where being young, economically successful (SES) and, most importantly, more highly educated, each independently contribute to greater exposure to this nonestablishment print media. Thirty percent of the variance is explained when the subjective orientations are introduced, with alienation, less anomic attitudes, and, to a lesser extent, more black identity, each independently contributing to exposure to black nonestablishment print media. While subjective orientations mediate about half the effect of age and about a fourth of the effect of socioeconomic status, practically all of the effect of education is independent of subjective orientations (again, we are comparing effects of demographic and socioeconomic background variables with and without the subjective orientations variables included in the equation). That is, very little of the tendency for more educated blacks to read the nonestablishment black press arises from the tendency of such blacks to have more black identity and less anomic attitudes.

Examining our final exposure variable, total newspaper reading, we find a small tendency for males to obtain more newspaper exposure. We find also that those expressing greater black identity are somewhat more

likely to spend more time reading newspapers. That the coefficient for age increases by 25% when black identity is introduced indicates that the smaller total or "reduced form" effect combines offsetting tendencies: The direct tendency of older blacks to spend more time reading newspapers is somewhat reduced by the tendency to read less because of the lower black identity among older blacks.

There were three trust variables--trust in majority, black establishment, and black nonestablishment print materials. (Trust in black entertainment magazines was related to none of the other variables in the model; indeed, it is not clear what "trust" of entertainment magazines refers to. It was, therefore, not included as one of the trust variables.)

The trust response codes for each print medium are: 1 = none, 2 = a little, and 3 = quite a bit. The average trust scores for majority, black establishment, and black nonestablishment print media are 2.30, 2.60, and 2.31. Overall, blacks trust the black establishment magazine most, and the majority and black nonestablishment media about the same (the respective standard deviations of .47, .60, and .58 indicate that there is most consensus about the majority magazine among blacks).

Returning to our model, we find that we account for little variation in trust of majority print media. Blacks with more anomic attitudes are somewhat more likely to trust the majority magazines, and blacks alienated from white society are slightly less likely to trust these media. Nor does trust in the black establishment magazine appear to be systematically related to many of the variables in our model (with only 6% of the variance accounted for). Women are slightly more likely to express trust in majority magazines. While exposure to the black establishment magazines does not lead

to more trust, there is a modest spillover effect from exposure to majority print media. It could be that exposure to the Majority Press causes blacks to seed out and trust the black extablishment press as an alternative, or, in contrast, establishment attitudes toward the black community (i.e., trusing their media) are reinforced by establishment behavior toward the white community (i.e., reading their magazines). Consistent wit either interpretation is the finding that those who spend more time per week reading newspapers are more trusting of the black establishment magazine.

Similar to the findings just noted, there is essentially no systematic variation in trust of black nonestablishment print media by socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. Those exposed to the black nonestablishment press tend to be more trusting of it, as do blacks who spend more time with newspapers and blacks w th less anomic attitudes. Paradoxically, those expressing more black identity are slightly less likely to trust the black nonestablishment press (while no effect in either direction was detected for black identity on trust of the majority magazines or trust of the black establishment magazine). This may be partly due to the ideological nature of the nonestablishment print media, which oftentimes have quite different and sometimes conflicting interpretations of the state of nature.

Overall, it appears that we simply cannot account for variation among blacks in their trust of either the black print media (with no more than 6% of the variance accounted for) or majority magazines (with 4% of the variance accounted for). In no case did trust vary systematically with socioeconomic position, educational level, or age. Unless our measurement techniques for the trust variables were inappropriate, it appears that variation in print media trust among blacks is idiosyncratic with respect to important social structural variables.

Perception of newspaper bias among blacks is attributable to just three factors: there is a modest tendency of blacks more alienated from white society to (not surprisingly) perceive more bias in newspapers, a somewhat smaller tendency for those spending less time with the newspaper to perceive more bias in them, and a slight tendency for less economically well off (low status) to perceive them as biased. These factors suggest that blacks less incorporated into the majority society, subjectively and economically, are those who will see newspaper coverage as unfair.

Finally, our attempt to account for variation among blacks in the degree to which they use newspapers as a source of information, suggests what might be called a "reader sophistication" argument. More educated blacks and, independent of that, those expressing more black identity, are likely to seek out media other than newspapers to obtain information about blacks. Whereas those who rely on more traditional sources of information--the Majority Press and the black entertainment press--are more likely to seek such information from newspapers. Not surprisingly, those who spend more time reading newspapers are more likely to use newspapers to obtain information about blacks from newspapers. While our data suggest no obvious explanation for this finding, our data do show that black males are less trusting of at least one alternative source--the black establishment magazine. It may be that black females rely on the black establishment magazine for information about blacks, an alternative to newspapers that black males are less likely to rely upon.

6. DISCUSSION

In this paper, we have used some of the commonly employed communication variables in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the communication

environment of black adults. These communication variables were housed in a multivariate framework, which allowed demographic, socioeconomic, and subjective orientation variables to be included, and allowed direct and indirect effects of each variable to be observed.

Consistent with past research, but with more precise measurement and within a multivariate specification, it was found that (1) those of a higher socioeconomic status tended to spend more time with the newspapers; and (2) those with higher socioeconomic status tended to read more magazines and print media in general, save black entertainment magazines. In reference to the black print media (black establishment and black nonestablishment), it is worthy of note that although socioeconomic status was related to use of both of these categories of media, a somewhat dissimilar pattern was observed with respect to effects of other demographic variables and subjective orientations. For the establishment magazine, it was found that the more frequent readers tended to be younger. With the black nonestablishment print media, it was also found that those of higher status and younger age tended to be more frequent readers, but the more frequent readers also tended to be higher educated, more alienated, less anomic, and with greater black identity. Assuming that there are intraclass differences in the black middle class, the description of the above group corresponds to that segment described as the "New Negro" middle class by Frazier (1965). Since the majority of black magazines investigated here were not established during his writings, it can only be speculated whether he would have hypothesized such a relationship. Less questionably, this group has many of the fundamental characteristics toward which the black nonestablished media are aimed (see Click, 1975).

More of the variation is accounted for in exposure to black nonestablishment media than any of the other exposure variables. This may partly be explained by the fewer number of people who are familiar with these recently established media, which have been directed generally toward a more specialized readership; that is, a certain self-selection may be involved. As a consequence, more variance in frequency of exposure is available to be explained.

Little variance was explained in the trust variables, and it could be that the media is not viewed in terms of trust. Others have doubted, using the related concept of credibility, that people conceive of the media per se as having credibility; perhaps people have varying evaluations of content that typically appear in a given medium (McLeod and O'Keefe, 1972; McLeod et al., 1968-69).

Overall, the above relationships between all of the media variables pointed to the utility of making certain distinctions within the Black Press, and to the adequacy of simultaneously incorporating subjective orientations, and demographic and socioeconomic characteristics as predictor variables.

Finally it may be noted that almost a decade after the Kerner Commission (1968) contended that the newspapers are especially perceived as biased and part of the white power structure, it was found that the same relationships persisted among those less integrated into white society--those less economically well off, more alienated from white society, who spend less time with the newspapers.

NOTES

[1]To explore the possibility of bias being introduced by drop-outs, a comparison was made on all the background variables between those who participated in the wave 1 study only and those who participated in studies 1 and 3, where all the included variables were taken. The drop-out pattern appeared to be random across all of these variables, and there were no statistically significant differences.

[2]Missing data index and scale items were replaced by their means.

[3]The reliability coefficients (coefficient alpha) and the range of the corrected item-total correlations may be gleaned from the following table

Scales	Alpha	Corrected Item-total
Socioeconomic status	.53	.21-.63
Anomie	.67	.35-.57
Alienation from white society	.65	.32-.50
Total newspaper reading		
Perception of newspaper bias	.74	.48-.83

[4]The Anomie scale was taken from Singer (1973). Items for the Alienation from White Society Scale were taken from an abbreviated version (minus one item) of the scale, created by Schuman and Hatchett (1974), bearing the same name.

[5]Five magazines--Jive, Blackstars, Tan, Jet, Sepia--were included in this index based on the relative amount of information on personalities and celebrities.

[6]Ebony, the black magazine with the highest circulation figures, was chosen to represent the black establishment press. This classification refers to the length of its existence (since 1945) as well as the nature of its contents assessed by empirical findings, primarily content analysis (Berkman, 1963; Click, 1975) and critical observation (Frazier, 1965).

[7]The Black Nonestablishment Print Media index was composed of Black World (publication has since terminated), Black Scholar, Freedomways, Bilalian News, and Essence. These publications were established more recently. They tend to be more ideological in content and place more emphasis on the critical evaluation of issues affecting blacks.

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